

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

A Declaration of the sufferings of several of the people of God (our friends and brethren, who work out their salvation with fear and trembling) in New England, and amongst the Dutch inhabiting in that land; the sum of which sufferings are as followeth, the most part of which sufferings have been sustained in twelve moneths.

Eleven strangers which are free-born English received 22. whippings, the stripes amounting to 250. Eleven inhabitants and free-born English received 16. whippings, the stripes amounting to 160. Fourty five imprisonments of strangers and inhabitants, amounting to 307. weeks; two beaten with pitch ropes, the blows amounting to 139. by which one of them was brought near unto death; twenty five banishments upon perjuries if returning, fines laid upon the inhabitants amounting to 318 pound eleven shillings; five kept fifteen dayes in all without food, and fifty eight dayes shut up close by the Goalor, and had none that he knew of; and from some of them he stopt up the windows, hindering them from convenient air; one laid neck and heels for sixteen hours; one very deeply burnt in the right breast with the letter H; one chained the most part of twenty days to a log in an open prison in the Winter; five appeals to England denied at Boston; three their right ears cut by the Hangman; one of the inhabitants of Salem, had one half of his house and Land seized on, while he was in prison a moneth before he knew of it.

These following sufferings among the Dutch, through the means of one Thomas Willet an English man, as it is said, in whom there hath been long an implacable enmity against the power of godliness; one beaten with near an hundred blows, with a four inch pitch rope, in which time he fell down twice as one dead, and afterwards was tied up by the hands, & a log tied to his feet and stript to the waist, and whipt with rods by a Negro with stripes without measure; his back, breasts, and arms bleeding, being much cut, and abundance of blood coming from them, and kept about eight weeks in prison, in a dirty miry dungeon, not fit to keep Swine in; three of the inhabitants of that Collony being English, were imprisoned in the Winter in dirty dungeons, and one of them fined fifty pounds.

The causes of the forementioned sufferings are impartially laid down as followeth, and commended to your serious consideration. that whereas the Lord God hath put power into your hands, you may make use of it to his praise and glory, in saving the innocent, and delivering the oppressed, and breaking the yokes of the oppressor, and standing up in the power of God, to plead the cause of the persecuted people of God; so will the desires of the honest-hearted be to the Lord for you, that you may prosper in your undertakings, and that your eyes may be opened to see what is amiss.

In the year 1656. two women named Mary Fisher, and Anne Austin, were moved to go to Boston in New England, where they were imprisoned near

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five weeks, and few or none suffered to come to them, and by order from the Governor and his assistants, their boxes were rifled, and what books was found in them was burnt (which books declared against sin and wickedness) by the hangman, and after sometime, upon suspicion without ground, of the womens being witches, they were stripped stark naked, and searched after such a manner, which modesty cannot particularly mention, but they were so dealt with that one of them who had been the mother of three children, said, she had not been used so in the birth of her children, as she was by this inhumane searching, and after this without convincing them of any crime (besides threatening to whip them, they forced the Master of the ship to send them back to *Barbados* (according to their order) upon his own charge from whence he brought them.

Soon after this there came to *Boston* in a *London* ship eight more of the people called Quakers, and after some slight examination of them, and neer eleven weeks imprisonment, wherein few were suffered to speak with them, except it were to ensnare them, and several abuses they suffered, as the taking away of their things; the Master that carried them was forced to bring them again to *England*, and was imprisoned four dayes, for not yeilding at first to their demand; so these eight also were violently sent away without any crime worthy of banishment laid to their charge.

Nicholas Small an inhabitant in *Boston*, an ancient weak man of age fifty years, and an honest report, for declaring against an oppressive law, and an act invented in their wills (before his door with the beating of a Drum) against them that are called Quakers, wherein they were called a cursed sect of hereticks and blasphemers, and great penalties laid upon any who should bring them in to their jurisdiction, and that the Quakers should be put in prison and whipt, &c.) was imprisoned and fined twenty pounds, and ordered to banishment in a months time, and not to return under pain of imprisonment, untill he did confess his fault in declaring against their law, and before the time was out of his departure, they sent for him and fined him three pounds more for not coming to their worship, according to their law, five shillings for every first dayes absence from their meeting; so the old man went into *Plimouth* Patent, which is the next Collony, determining there to stay that Winter, the which the Governor thereof (being an unreasonable man) sought by all means to hinder him, but thorow the moderation of some of the Magistrates, he was suffered to stay, but in the spring he was forced away, and this was in the Winter time which is so cold in those parts that it is dangerous to travel; the consideration of these things have made us to think, that pitty is wholly departed from them.

In part of the year 1657. and 1658. these followings sufferings were sustained by some strangers who are called Quakers, who in obedience to the Lord went to *New England*, and also by some inhabitants in the same land who suffered for the exercise of a pure conscience.

Christopher Kelder, and *John Copeland* for going to an Island called *Martins Vineyard*, had taken from them nine shillings three pence in mony by the Governors order, & delivered unto some Indians to carry them off the Island, among whom they found more kindness then among their own professing Country men, and afterwards for being taken in *Plimouth* Patent, they were had before the Court, and sent away above fifty miles as vagabonds.

Also *Humphery Norton* for being taken at *Sandwich* on a first day, was carried to *Plimouth* by the Constable, and there kept prisoner several dayes, and afterwards

wards sent away as a vagabond above fifty miles by the under Marshall; *William Brend* and *John Copeland*, for not going out of *Plimouth* Collony in forty eight hours, as required of the Magistrates, the weather not being seasonable for travelling, it being very wet and in the depth of Winter, were whipt with rods, *Will. Brend* received ten stripes, and *Jo. Copeland* twenty two stripes backward & forward, drawing blood of back, breasts, and armes, and this cruelty did they on them without any law, saving their own wills, although the prisoners strongly pleaded *Olivers* Instrument of Government, which gives liberty to all professing faith in Christ Jesus, &c. but that was not regarded by them, though they profess themselves to be under the Government of England.

William Nuland and *Ralph Allin* inhabitants of *Sandwich* in *Plimouth* Collony, for entertaining those who are called Quakers, and having meetings at their houses, and denying to swear, and refusing to give in security for the good behaviour, were fined twenty shillings a piece, for which was taken from *William Nuland* a Heifer better worth then thirty shillings, and their bodies imprisoned near five moneths in the depth of Winter near thirty miles from their wives and families, which were great, having many small children, which did prove much to their damage, and at their first moneth Court, in the year 1658. were cleared without any crime laid to their charge, yet according to the Governor's order were to pay five shillings for their commitment, and five shillings for their release, and five shillings for every day of their imprisonment, the which they denied, yet did they satisfy the Marshal for their diet to his content.

Peter Gaunt, *Daniel Wing*, *Ralph Allin*, and *Will. Allin* inhabitants of *Sandwich*, were summoned to the Court held at *Plimouth*, in the first moneth 1658. under the pretence of felony according to their law, for breaking into a mans house, where the man of the house cleared them, and the Governor told them there was a mistake in the summons, yet for not putting off their hats, he fined them twenty shillings a piece, for which was taken from them to the value of five pounds, and at this Court they made a Law against friends, laying both fines and other sufferings upon both inhabitants and strangers, who should meet together for the worship of God contrary to their form; The sufferers under this Law follow.

Humphery Norton and *John Rous*, for going to the Town of *Plimouth*, were apprehended and put in prison, and had two examinations, wherein were many false charges laid against them, and *Jo. Rous* did much plead with them for that liberty which free-born English men ought to have, yet of it was denied, and further to ensnare them, had an oath of the Magistrates own making tendered to them, the which they refusing, because they could not swear for conscience sake, the Governor called *H. N.* a Jesuite, and said he looked upon *Jo. Rous* as Jesuated, and so caused *Hum. Norton* to be whipt with twenty three stripes, and *John Rous* with fifteen, and returned them to prison again for not giving them money.

At this Court there was three of the inhabitants of *Sandwich* put in the stocks for taking *John Rous* by the hand, after he came from before the Court. On the seventh of the fourth moneth 1658. being the first day of the week, which they call their Sabbath, some friends were met together to wait upon the Lord at *Sandwich*, and by order from the Court, did the Constable come among them, and warn 14. of them to be at *Plimouth* by the next day at noon, which was twenty miles distant, the most of them that was summoned appeared at the time and

place appointed, where they were fined five pound a piece, for refusing to take an oath which the Magistrates would impose on them without any order from the powers of England, and for refusing it, great havock was made of their estates.

Christopher Holder and *John Copeland*, for being taken going to a meeting at *Sandwich*, was kept by the Marshall prisoners several days, and afterwards received with a threefold whip thirty three stripes, to the wounding of the hearts of several, so that a woman who was a stranger to them cried out in the grief of her soul, and anguish of her spirit, beholding the cruelty that then was acted, and said, How long Lord! how long will it be, ere thou avenge the blood of thine elect! and after bewailing her self, and lamenting her loss, said to this purpose, Did I forsake father and mother, and all my dear relations, to come to *New England* for this? did I ever think that *New England* would come to this? Who would have thought it? We could desire that the same sensibleness did enter into the hearts of all to whom this doth come, and then would those who are in power here, make the condition of their suffering friends their own, and stand up in the power of God, and plead the cause of the oppressed, that so the wrath of the wicked may be stopped, and the innocent may be delivered out of his power.

Again sixteen of the inhabitants of *Sandwich* were summoned to the Court held at *Plimouth*, in the eighth moneth 1658. and there were fined five pound a piece for not swearing, the which they could not do for conscience sake; in the gathering of these fines, with the others before mentioned, the violence following was done.

Edward Perry for not swearing, fined fifteen pounds, for which they took from him five Cows and two Heifers, worth twenty seven pounds, without shewing any Warrant for what was done by them that took them.

Robert Harper for not swearing, fined ten pounds, and had two young Oxen and two Heifers taken from him, worth thirteen pounds.

Ralph Allin for not swearing, fined ten pounds, and had cattle taken from him, marked for the Country, worth eleven pounds ten shillings.

Thomas Greenfield for not swearing, fined ten pounds, and taken in cattle and other goods from him, eleven pounds in value.

Richard Kirby for not swearing, fined fifteen pounds, and had four Cows and one Calf taken for it, worth sixteen pounds. had

William Allin for the same, fined ten pounds, and two Cows and a Steer taken for it, worth thirteen pounds; he was also fined five pound more on the same account, but of the taking of that, we have not yet an account.

Masheu Allin for the same, fined ten pounds, and had three Cows taken from him for it, worth twelve pounds.

Daniel Wing for the same, fined ten pounds, and had for it taken to the value of twelve pounds.

George Allin for the same, fined five pound, and had cattle taken from him worth six pound.

William Gifford for the same, fined ten pounds, and had goods taken for it worth twelve pounds.

Thomas Ewer, a poor laboring man, who got his living by day-labor, for refusing to swear, had seven pounds stopt in one *Richard Chadwells* hand, which formerly he had earned, and for not satisfying their wills, they took the value of ten shillings from him.

At the eighth moneth Court, because friends did not straight way go out of the

the Court, to the satisfying *Thomas Prince's* hasty will, he cast three of them into prison, where they were kept several days in the cold weather from their families.

From three of the inhabitants of *Sandwich*, for not satisfying their wills, was taken to the value of twenty one shillings.

John Jenkins, a very poor man, for not satisfying their wills, had his pot taken from him that he used to dress his meat in.

Arthur Howland, a man of seventy years of age, and one that had suffered under the Bishops, for not delivering up one *Robert Hodgshons* to the Constable at his demand, without a Warrant, was fined five pound, for which was distrained from him a Steer and a Bull worth more; again such was their malice against this old man, that they attempted to cast him into prison, in the cold Winter season, and he desired rather that he might have liberty to repair to *England* to make his case known to the powers here, but was not permitted, but had been cast into prison had not two of his brethren out of pity to his old age engaged for him.

Also for a small matter which they required of him for the Priest, in the spring time they took from him the Iron furniture, belonging to his draught, for want of which (although it was a thing of small value, yet hard to be had in those parts) the old man was much damnified.

Henry Howland his brother, in the Town of *Duxbury*, for having a meeting at his house, and not serving on the Jury, was fined one pound ten shillings, and had it taken from him.

Surely if the New England's professors care was as great to pay what they owe unto all men, as they are to lay fines upon tender consciences, and to take from them more then their fines come to, their creditors both in old England and elsewhere, would have little cause to complain of them, but that spirit which leads to do justice in all things, is quite cast out from among them, both Church, Court, and Country, and that is the reason why so many have cause to complain of them in this particular.

The particulars of these forementioned sufferings, were most of them given under the hands of the sufferers, who several of them are mean in the outward, and are by probability likely to be ruined as to the outward (with their families, many of them having very many small children) if some course be not taken to prevent the course of these unmerciful men.

They that have been the chief authors of these sufferings, are, *Thomas Prince* Governor, *John Alden*, *Tho. Willet*, *Will. Collier*, *Iosiah Winslow*, *Thomas Southworth*, *Tho. Hinckley*, &c. Magistrates, who are violent persecutors of the good people in *Plimouth* Patent, making a prey upon some, and keeping others in such fear, that they have much wronged their consciences; and that nothing might be wanting by them to trouble the honest people, they made one *George Barloe* one of their Marshals, extraordinary, finding him to be a man of a spirit fit for their purpose, who hath (before he was in place) been ready upon all occasions to joyn with the Constable to hunt the Lambs of Christ, and hinder their peaceable meeting together; and since he hath been in power, he hath made use of it to the utmost, to disturbe friends when they have been quietly met together to wait upon the Lord, and when to avoid his troublesome spirit they have with-drawn into the woods, then hath it been his work to hunt after them, making their Sabbath a day of hunting, & being forwarded in his wickedness by the Magistrates, he hath not ceased much to abuse friends; as once late in the night broke open a friends door at *Sandwich*, and went into most of the rooms in the house,

house, under a pretence to search for Quakers, although there was none in the house at that time that he searched for; and the enmity in him is so high, that he said he would not leave them worth a groat; but he is a fit man for such a work, having formerly suffered the terrors of God for his uncleanness with an Indian woman as he said himself, but now his conscience is seared.

Humphrey Norton for coming into a Town called *Southeast* in the evening on long Island, intending in the will of God next day to pass away, was apprehended, and carried to New Haven, and there kept the most part of twenty dayes and nights in an open prison in the Winter season, with his leggs chained to a log of wood, in which time he was examined, and sentenced by *Francis Newman* and his assistants (who are Magistrates for New Haven Collony) to be whipt, which was done with thirty six stripes, as the *Standers-by* said; but had been more if a woman had not asked, whether they would kill him. 2. To be burnt in the hand with the letter H. which was cruelly executed on his right hand very deep. 3. Banished him, not to return, but upon the utmost sentence of the Court. 4. To pay ten pounds as a fine, for which a *Dutchman*, contrary to *H. Nortons* consent, paid them twenty nobles.

Sarah Gibbens and *Dorothy Waugh*, for going to *Hartford* in *Connecticut Collony*, were imprisoned several days, and after had some of their cloaths taken from them, and sold to pay their fees.

These following sufferings in *Boston* Pattent, called *Massachusetts Bay*.

Mary Clark a modest and innocent woman, fearing God with all her house, for going to *Boston* in obedience to the Lord, was whipt with twenty stripes, with a threefold whip, and kept a prisoner above twelve weeks.

Christopher Holder and *John Copeland* for being at *Salem* meeting, a Town in *Boston Collony*, and *Christopher* speaking to the people after the Priest had done, one *Brown* a Commissioner caught hold of his hair, and plucked him backward by it, and for want of a better argument to stop his mouth with, he clapt his gloves on it, and a little after they were apprehended by the Constable, and carried prisoners to *Boston*, and there received thirty stripes a piece with their threefold whip, which cruelty so seized on a woman that stood by, that she fell down as one dead; to which they added nine weeks imprisonment in very cold weather, suffering none to come to them, in which time they were kept up in a close room three days and three nights without bread or water, onely once a prisoner gave them a little water, for which the Gaolor threatened him, and this was because they were not free to work, that the Gaolor might have eight pence out of every shilling they earned, but they did not refuse to work so as to earn their diet, and being called before the Governor and Magistrates, the Governor told them they deserved to be hanged, because they in a paper warned the people not to joyn with their Rulers in what they did, it being contrary to the spirit that gave forth the Scriptures; all this they suffered, not having in the least been charged with the transgression of any righteous law.

Cassandra Southwick an inhabitant of *Salem*, for entertaining the two before mentioned, was kept in prison neer seven weeks, and for owning a paper of their giving forth, was fined forty shillings, the which they took.

Richard Dowdney being travelling in obedience to the movings of God upon him towards *Boston*, was apprehended in an Ordinary, in a Town called *Dedham*, and from thence had to *Boston*, before the Court there sitting, who caused him to be searched, and took from him what papers they would, and also judg-

ed him to be whipt with thirty cruel stripes, the which was done within three hours after his coming thither, and continued him about twenty dayes in prison.

A little before the releasement of the forementioned sufferers (to wit) *Mary Clark, Chr. Holder, John Copeland, Rich. Dowdney* and *Cas. Southick*, they had them before a Court in *Boston*, who read unto them another law, which they called an addition to the former law, which was made in the eighth moneth 1656. under which law friends had suffered most cruelly; they added yet further to their cruelty this law, which they made in the eighth month 1657. which saith, That every male Quaker having once suffered the law of whipping, for coming gain into their Collony, shall have one of his ears cut, and for coming again the third time, shall have his other ear cut off, and every woman Quaker shall be whipt severely every time she comes, untill the fourth time of her coming, and then the man and the woman both, shall have their tongues bored through with a hot Iron; and all this cruelty for only coming into their Collony, yet say they every Quaker arising among our selves, shall be alike used as the law provides against foreign Quakers.

Lawrence Southick and *Cassandria* his wife, and *Iosiah* their son, inhabitants of *Salem*, for saying that the Rulers and Priests, and laws were bloody, were taken from their families and occasions, and carried them to *Boston*, where they were whipt with ten stripes a piece, and kept prisoners several days in the twelfth moneth 1657. and when they were let out, order was given that they should not stay above an hour in any house, under the penalty of their law, which is forty shillings an hour for any that conceal or entertain Quakers.

William Maston an inhabitant of *Hampton* in *Boston* Collony, for having two small books which declared against sin in his house, was fined ten pounds, the which they took from him, and for their Priest, and for not going to their worship, they fined him eight pounds, and for visiting friends in prison, he was kept in prison two weeks, and threatened to be laid in Irons, and this was in very cold weather.

William Shattuck an inhabitant of *Boston*, for not coming to their meeting at *Boston*, was whipt with ten stripes, and kept in prison several days, in the first moneth 1658. and afterwards banished from his wife and family, in which time *Richard Bellingham* Deputy-governor, used his utmost endeavor to set his wife and children against him, bidding them disown him.

Sarah Gibbens and *Dorothy Waugh* for going to the meeting house at *Boston*, were whipt with ten stripes a piece, and for refusing to work for the Gaolor, were kept several days and nights without eating any thing, and to prevent their friends from conveying any thing to them, the Gaolor nailed up the window where they were, and he told them they should leave their carcasses behind them.

Horred Gardiner an inhabitant of *Newport* upon Road Island, and a mother of many children, for going to the meeting house of *Weymouth* in *Boston* Collony, was carried to *Boston*, and there whipt with ten stripes, and the maid that helped her to carry her sucking child, was whipt also, and continued in prison about fourteen days.

Thomas Harris for going to the Steeple-house at *Boston* was put in prison, and whipt with ten stripes, and for not working for the Gaolor, was kept near five days and five nights without any food, so that by probability he had perished had

had not a friend relieved him in the night season; and at another time had two and twenty blows laid on him with a pitch rope by the Gaolor.

Sometime after *Tho. Harris* was committed to prison, *William Brend* and *Will. Zeddra* were sent to *Boston* from *Salem Court*, for being taken at *Newberry*, and there were whipt with ten stripes a piece, and for refusing to work for the Gaolor, they were kept several days without any food that the Gaolor knew of; a little after they were whipt, the Gaolor laid *William Brend* neck and heels (as it is called) sixteen hours according to his own words, and seeing that would not do, the next day the Gaolor laid on him 117. blows with a pitch rope, and had laid more if his rope had held, and threatened to do the same again to him and the other friend the next day, and when he had done went into his house to his prayers; not long after, the life was near departing out of *Williams* body, and notice being given in the Town, many came to see him, where they beheld the sad spectacle of a Church-members cruelty, and great indignation arose in the moderate spirited people against the Gaolor; this thing being done, the Governor and his assistants made a shew as if it were not done by their order (but did seem to be against it, and to promise the people that justice should be done on the Gaolor) but the Gaolors wife was heard to say that they were still putting her husband on to beat the quakers, and now he had done it they would not stick by him: The next first day in the forenoon, a note was put up at their meeting-house, declaring that the Gaolor should be brought to a tryal, but in the afternoon another was stuck up which made the former null and void; after their even sacrifice was done, as was related to us, a member of their Church at *Boston* stood up, desiring that the Gaolor might be dealt with for what he had done, and their chief Priest *John Norton* stood up in opposition, and said to this purpose, That *William Brend* had labored to beat their Ordinances black and blew, and what if the Gaolor had beat him black and blew, and if *William Brend* had died, he would stand up for the Gaolor, and if they dealt with him he would leave them; and since we have not heard that the Gaolor was checked in the least by the Rulers for what he had done, but their carriage towards him doth plainly shew, that what he hath done they approve of, and since they have endeavored to make a shew as if it was less then was reported, but it was so bad that one *Clark*, a Chyrurgian and a member of their Church, said, it was a miracle if ever he recovered, for the flesh was so bruised, that he expected it should rot off the bones; and of this there is many witnesses in *Boston* and elsewhere, but after sometime through the love of God, *William* was restored to health.

The Gaolor having thus cruelly nigh murdered *William Brend*, great compassion arose in several of the inhabitants of *Boston*, who in some measure ministered to his necessities for the relief of the outward man, for which five of them were presented; so they will neither shew mercy themselves nor suffer others.

Samuel Shattuck, *Joshua Buffum* and *Samuel Gaskin*, inhabitants of *Salem*, for being taken at a meeting, where the two forementioned were, were sent to prison to *Boston*, without any fair tryal or question asked them concerning Religion, where they were whipt with ten stripes a piece, and kept neer a month from their families and occasions in the beginning of harvest.

Lawrence Southwick and *Cassandra* his wife, and *Josiah* their son, for being taken at the same meeting, were put in prison and there kept sixteen weeks, and *Cassandra* whipt with ten stripes, all this time not suffering them at all to go to the family.

families, although it was desired: in which time it being harvest, they lost the reaping of a Meddow, of which formerly they have had twenty load of hay in a year, for want of which their cattle was likely to perish in Winter: by the means of this their restraint, their estate is much run to ruin, and some fines were levied, and after all this they were let forth, not as Quakers; so here they have proved all their former sufferings to be without cause and illegal.

Also at one of their Courts they put a daughter of the forementioned old peoples in the stocks, for telling the Magistrates when she was called before them, that they persecuted her father and mother.

The next day after *Will. Brend's* great sufferings, *Humphery Norton* and *John Rous*, were moved to go to *Boston* to their meeting-house, out of which they were haled to prison; and from thence before the Magistrates, where several questions were asked them, and seeing that they altogether were set to do mischief, the prisoners appealed to the chief powers of *England*, desiring to have their cause tryed here, but that was slighted by them, and reply made, no appealing from this Court to *England*; so they were sentenced to be severely whipt, the which was done with ten stripes a piece on them, so hard as they could be laid on by the arm of a bitter spirited man; the Governor and Deputy-Governor, for all the sufferings of *Wil. Brend*, not having as yet satisfied themselves with blood, gave forth a Warrant to this effect, That the Quakers now in prison, for being obstinate and refusing to work, should be whipt once in three dayes, the first time with fifteen stripes, and the second time with eighteen, and the third time with twenty one stripes, and so adding three every time till further order; the which was executed upon four of the prisoners, before their former stripes was healed, which caused pitty to arise in some, who contrary to the prisoners consent, hired their Marshal at an unreasonable rate to convey them out of their Collony.

Also *Nicolas Phelps* an inhabitant of *Salem*, and a man of a very weak body, was carried from his house and family to *Ipswich*-court in the time of harvest, and committed to the house of correction, where he was whipt three times in five days with ten stripes at a time, and after about fourteen days imprisonment, was released without the least crime laid to his charge, which might occasion such sufferings.

Christopher Holder and *John Copeland* going to *Boston*, according to the movings of God, was taken up at a Town called *Dedham*, and from thence by a Constable was had to *Boston* before the Governor, who committed them to prison, where they suffered much cruelty, and after three weeks imprisonment, *John Rous* for going to *Boston* was apprehended at an Inne, and put in prison also, and after thirteen days, they were called before the Court of Assistants, where they were much railed at and reviled, and after three days were called before the Court again, between which two tryals they had a fast in *Boston*, which proved like *Iezabel's* fast for the shedding the blood of the innocent; at this their second trial the prisoners seeing no justice could be had from them, they were stirred much in their spirits, to make their appeal to *England*, which was much slighted and disregarded by the Governors and Magistrates, and the prisoners were returned to prison, being sentenced by them to have each of them his right ear cut off by the hangman, and as they were going out of the Court, because one of them put on his hat, the Gaoler struck twice at him with a great stick he had in his hand,

and said in the face of the Court, You knave, I could find in my heart to knock you down; but for it he was not checked by them in the least; and after six days imprisonments more, the Marshalls deputy, accompanied with the hangman, and several hard hearted people came to the prison, where they were, and after they had barred the prison door fast, and let in none but whom they would, not suffering any friends to the prisoners to come in, he read his Warrant to the prisoners, which was to this effect, Commanding him to see the Executioner cut of the right ears of *John Copeland*, *Christopher Holder*, and *John Rows* Quakers, for the breach of the law titled Quakers; and charged them before as blasphemers, but could prove nothing against them, for when according to righteousness the prisoners have expected that the Magistrates should have brought their accusers face to face, and clearly in the sight of the people, convinced them of what they charged on them, which is but equal and just, in stead of this all along, they have entred into a dispute with them, it may be about the hat or some such thing, and when they have disputed with them so long as they have a minde, then what before they have prescribed in their mindes, they have sentenced the persecuted to suffer; and this hath been from time to time the manner of their proceedings against them who are called Quakers in New England; after he had read this Warrant, *Jo. Rows* said, we have appealed to England; the Marshall said, I have nothing to do with that, so the Warrant was executed upon the prisoners, by cutting their right ears; and after *Christopher Holder* and *John Copeland* had been nine weeks in prison, and *John Rows* six weeks, they were let out.

Katherin Scott an inhabitant of Providence, and a woman of a blameless conversation as they themselves confessed, for visiting of the prisoners when their ears were cut, and witnessing against their cruelty, was imprisoned three weeks, and whipt with ten stripes, and great cause had she to witness against their cruelty, for the same spirit had banished her sister *Anne Hutchinson* out of their coasts, because she differed from them in judgement, and imprisoned her children the most part of a bitter cold Winter, for going to *Boston* to visit their kindred; and *Anne Hutchinson* being banished from among them, went with her family to dwell under the Dutch Government, where they were cruelly murdered by the Indians, whose innocent blood crys to the Lord for vengeance upon the persecuting spirit which rules in New England; the truth of the last mentioned sufferings, and the sad oppression that poor people have born in those parts for conscience sake; *Henry Vane* is not altogether unacquainted with, for the dislike of which, although he was their governor, yet had he in some measure a taste of what fruites the Spirit of New England yeilds to them that oppose it.

Sam. Shattuck, *Nic. Phelps*, and *Joshua Buffum*, for being taken at a meeting at *Salem*, were warned to *Ipswich* Court by the Constable, and there appearing *Sam. Shattuck* and *Nic. Phelps*, was by the Magistrates *Daniel Danison* and *Simon Broadstreet*, fined thirty shillings a piece, for being twice at a private meeting, and twice absent from the publike meeting; and *Josh. Buffum* fined fifteen shillings for the same, and for being Quakers were whipt and kept prisoners, and after three weeks imprisonment, wherein they were kept sometime in the cold weather in a prison which much wanted repair, & for some time the Gaoler would not let them out for extraordinary occasions, they having suffered all this abuse, were let out not as Quakers, the last law being read to them [which was made at

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Boston, wherewith they threaten such who are called *Quakers* that come into their Jurisdiction with banishment upon pain of death.

Besides the other sufferings that they inflicted upon *Samuel Shattuck*, as fines, whippings, and several weeks imprisonment from his Family, while hee was by them kept in prison, they seized upon half of his house, and ground belonging to it, a moneth before he knew of it: The report of which coming to him, hee went to the Marshall to know the truth of it, who told him that it was so, and two had been with him to buy it, and that he intended shortly to have it prized, and to put it to sale: The Marshall also having express Order forthwith to strain several fines of the Inhabitants of Salem, which may amount to above one hundred pounds; the particulars of which at present we cannot give an account of. All these sufferings in Boston Pattent was *John Indicot*, Governor, and *Rich. Bellingham*, Deputy-Governor, *Simon Broadstreet*, *Daniel Dennison*, and some others, Magistrates, Authors of, and chief Actors in, who according to the words of the wise man, are as roaring Lyons, and ranging Bears amongst the poor people.

These following Sufferings were sustained in the New Netherlands.

Robert Hodgshon for being in a town called Hempsted under the Dutch Government, was apprehended and brought before one *Gilderleeve*, an Englishman, and called a Magistrate, who committed him to custody while he himself rode to the Dutch Governor, and brought the Fisgall and a guard of Musquetiers, who pinioned him, and after an inhuman manner tyed him to a Carts tail, and so brought him to New-Amsterdam, (with two women whom they took hold of for receiving him, the one had a childe then sucking) where *Robert* was cast into a dirty Dungeon; and after twice calling him before them, an Accusation was read unto him in Dutch, and all that was interpreted by *Thomas Willet* their Interpreter, was this; It is the Generalls pleasure, seeing you have behaved your selfe thus, that you are to work two yeers at a Wheelbarrow with a Negro, or pay, or cause to be paid 600 Guilders; and for refusing to work, they caused a Negro to beat him with a pitch rope nigh four inches about, till he fell down twice as one dead: And seeing that they could not accomplish their ends thus, after some time keeping him in their dirty dungeon, and not suffering him to have convenient food to sustain the outward man, he was carried into a private room, and there was tyed up by the hands, and a log of wood tyed to his feet, and stripped naked to his waste, and a strong Negro caused to lay a-bundance of stripes on him with rods both backwards and forwards, so that back, breast, and arms were grievously cut, and much blood run from him; and after a while they loosed him, after two dayes he was tyed again as before, and whipt; and after a while, he desired some time of consideration; and having inquired of God what to do in this case, he had liberty to work; and after this an English woman came to wash his stripes, who seeing him so low in body, told her husband she feared he would not live till the morrow; but after a few dayes, *Roberts* was through the love of God restored to health again, and after a while through the means of the Governors sister, was set at liberty. It is thought by severall moderate people, that Captain *Willet*, an English-man, and one of Plymouth Magistrates, was the cause of these sufferings, by incensing the Dutch Governor with several false reports of them that are called *Quakers*; for a little

before this, *Robert* was with the Dutch-Governor, and the Governor was very moderate to him, but since through misinformation, such a deadly enmity is grown up in him, that upon all occasions he doth seek to ruinate those that do receive or own the *Quakers*; and for this purpose hath made a Law, that those that receive any *Quakers* into their houses shall pay 50. l. the third part of which the Informer is to have, and to be concealed; and if any Vessel should bring a *Quaker* into their Jurisdiction, it should be forfeited with the goods. Great are the sufferings of the English under the Dutch in those parts, they waiting to make a prey upon them upon all occasions, especially the honest part, and we know that it would be a great joy of heart to many there, if the Powers of England would take the Government of the English upon them, that so they might be eased of the yoke under which for some time they have served, they being liable to great fines and abuses upon every occasion which the Dutch will take. Two maids, named *Mary Weatherhead*, and *Dorothy Waugh*, for speaking in the street of New-Amsterdam, were cast into two Dungeons apart, which were so nasty, that several thought they could not live in them: and after eight dayes imprisonment were led through the street with rods tyed to their backs, to a boat that was to go to Road-Island, and were therein put.

John Tilton and *Ioan Chatterton* for receiving them that are called *Quakers*, were imprisoned.

Tobias Feak and *Edward Hart*, because they could not prosecute the Dutch-Governors Order against the *Quakers* so called, were cast into prison, being Officers and Inhabitants of the town called *Vlissing*.

Henry Townesend for receiving some friends into his house was fined 50. l. for not paying of which, he was cast into a miery Dungeon in the winter season, and for his releasment (his wife and friends fearing his welfare in that nasty place, and the season being so cold) took a pair of young Oxen and a Horse, although he had no more, and gave them to the persecutors to free him out of prison.

All the Sufferings that were sustained in *Boston Patent* were private, sometimes with the doors of the prisons fast shut, and many times very few by when they acted their cruelty, the persecutors taking their time to do it privately.

And of all the Warrants that have been given out against them that have suffered in *Boston-Patents* ever since the sixth moneth 1657. they have not had one copy from their persecutors, although many times it hath been asked for by them; but their laws being things which were more publike, copies of them the Sufferers got, but none saw one from their persecutors, and for that though it was short was paid one shilling, six pence; and if it be your desires to see their Laws, wherein they have far out-stripped the Bishops, as well as in their cruelty, we the Subscribers knowing your desires in it, shall produce them, desiring that as in the acting of their cruelty they covered themselves with darkness, so that now their deeds may be thoroughly brought to light, that so the simple and honest hearted in this Nation, who have heard much of the fame of their profession, and think they still stand as they did, may see and know upon what ground they now stand, whose thirst will not be satisfied without blood.

And friends, whereas there is and hath been a great talk of the conversion of the Indians in New-England, and many out of their desire to forward such a work, have largely given towards it, and a great shew of a glorious conversion among them have severall of the New-England priests made, but it is for their

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own ends, they being fed with great sums of money, for which they must make a shew of something; but this can we testifie, having been often among them, That the greatest conversion that is wrought among them is, they are converted from their former simplicity, into subtilty, deceit, and hypocrisie: And what more can be expected, whilst they are under such a Ministry as is upheld by cruelty, and whose life and livelihood stands in these things before-mentioned? and as for the profession or talk of God which they have learned of the English it is but as a Tradition; for *John Rous* being at a friends house in Sandwich, where one of them who are called Christian Indians came: he being desirous to see if any thing of God was stirring among them, he asked the Indian where God dwelt? he pointed over his head, and said in heaven, as ignorant people use to answer: *J.R.* asked him how he knew? the Indian answered, He would tell him if he had his book; so he shewed wherein his knowledge of God stood. And at another time, *J.R.* met with another Indian at the same house, and asked him if hee were a Christian? he answered I: And whether hee knew Christ? He said I: So *J.R.* asked him, If he ever saw Christ? The Indian said, No: So *J.R.* told him, if hee had not seen Christ hee did not know him; to which the Indian could not tell what to answer: Many instances of the like nature might be written, As when some of them have been asked, Who did tell them such a thing? They have answered, *Mr. Ellib*, or *Mr. Mabo*, or some other, shewing that they knew no other Teacher to guide them or instruct them. And seeing & knowing the deceit and badness of the New-England Priests, in causing people to believe that which is not true, through their boasting of high things, which never as yet were done by them, in faithfulness we write this for the laying open of all deceit, and for the information of the honest-hearted, that they may not be made a prey upon any longer by the Priests; for if they will preach among the Indians they should do it freely: And friends, wee do believe that if such a course as this were taken, that if that money which is set apart for the converting of the Indians (as it is thought) were committed to the hands of such here as will be faithful in laying it out, upon such things as the Indians need, as cloathing, &c. and that it be sent over to New-England, and there faithfully given forth amongst them as their need shall be; the English also themselves shewing forth a good life and conversation among them, more good by this means will be done to the converting of them, and far more glory will be brought to God, then hath as yet been through all the preaching of the Priests, for their talking doth but beget into a form, but this would beget into the power, and bring them to desire to know the God whom such serveth. And whereas some may say, If this be done, the Ministers will want encouragement to labor to convert them: Truly to such we answer, When the time of their converting to the power of God comes, those Ministers that will be employed in that work, will not need encouragement from man; for if men doth not seek to hinder them, they shall not need to encourage them, for they will be such as dwell in the power of God, and by it are guided, the nature of which is to carry on those that are led by it, with all courage and valour to do that which they are called to, and their reward is with God; but the earthly spirit must have earthly encouragement, or it will faint; but that which is put into their mouths, is as water which is cast upon a dry barren howling wilderness which cannot be satisfied: therefore might it be more serviceable either to make use of it to a better use then at present it is, or let faithful men be employed in this business, that so the catterpillars and devourers may

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be furnished. And truly with sadness may it be said, that more evil have they learned from the English then good, for drunkenness and severall other things which are evill, were not among them before the English came into the Land, which since is increased, it is like, those who have part in this gain will rise up against us, as *Demetrius* did against *Paul* for fear of losing their gain; but we are well satisfied, that when the hidden things of darkness shal be brought to light, that then abundance of deceit will be found in this design of seeming converting of the *Indians*; and if you desire a further testimony of the truth of this, we do believe that there are many in several parts of *New-England*, for the laying open of deceit, will give under their hands what further they know concerning this matter: And this is not written out of prejudice to any mans person, but in love to the simple, that the deceitful spirit may be discovered, and truth may be made manifest to all, and all occasions of stumbling which may hinder any from coming to the knowledge of God and Christ Jesus the light, may be removed out of the way of all, whether Jew or Gentile, Turk or Indian; for there is a seed among them which must be gathered.

And friends, having in short laid before you these sufferings which have been met with by the innocent in *New-England*, with the grounds and causes according to the truth, which truly we should have said little of, were it not for the sake of those that may follow us, who may drink the same cup, and more bitter if the rage of the wicked be not stopt; for according to the Law at *Boston*, if a man come into their colony that saith thou to a single person, or keeps on his hat before one they call his Superior, or doth not acknowledge a Trinity of persons, &c. which we read not of in Scripture, he is to be banished upon pain of death. And also for the sake of some inhabitants, whose sufferings have been great, and others who groan under the same yoke; this is the chief cause of the presenting this to your view: for what abuses we have suffered by them, all the world cannot make us amends for, being marked as rogues use to be; but being innocent, and hating all such actions as may justly deserve such marks, in true quietness we rest, being marked for the sheep of *Christ*, and bearing in our bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus: And having thus done, wee have discharged our consciences, and this will lie upon you, to arise in that power which the Lord God hath given you, and plead the cause of the oppressed, who hath no helper in the earth; and in this work the Lord God will be with you, and wil (as he always hath when you have taken such works of mercy in hand) prosper you: And if in wisdom you should see it meete to take the Government of the four United Colonies into your hands, and give the honest and sincere-hearted free liberty of conscience, it would make many a glad heart in that land, and would bee as strength to the weak, and as the opening of the prison-doors to the captives, which would be a good day: and this if you come into the wisdom and power of God, you might easily do, by which all things should be governed, and so answer the desires of many of the Inhabitants who much desire it, who groan under the arbitrary power that the high-minded Rulers of *New-England* govern by, and also prevent the further shedding of innocent blood, and the spoiling of the innocent: And if this thing you do not seek to prevent, now you have the power in your hands, and an opportunity to improve, it will lye heavy upon you, and be a stain to your posterity: but that you may bee preserved from such a weight and stain, and may use the power put into your hands, according to the will of God, without abusing it in the least, is the desire of us; who wait to see the

the power of the Lord set up, and the kingdom of the man of sin spoyle and broken; for bearing witness against which, we have suffered the cutting off our ears from our unkind Countrymen in New-England, named, *John Copeland, John Rous,* and *Humphrey Norton*, who was burnt in the hand.

If their agent here in *England* have any thing to say on their behalf, he may do well to appear.

There doth a query arise whether they thus acting so contrary to the government and wholesome laws of the English Nation, and making so proudly laws according to their own wills, not in the least in them making mention of taking notice of the supream powers of *England*, have not forfeited their Patent.

Friends if any of you have a desire to read our examinations when we were before the Rulers we commend you to a book titled, *New Englands Ensigne*, sold by *Giles Calvert*, and to a book titled, *The Popish inquisition newly erected in New England*, sold by *Thomas Simmons* at the Bull and Mouth neer Aldersgate, in which book most of their laws are printed and answered, the which books may be serviceable for any of you to read for your particular satisfaction.

A Paper to New England.

You friends, teachers and Christians of New England, and Magistrates, you have shamed your Christianity, you have shamed your teaching, you have dishonored your authority: What banishing, what spoiling of the goods of the servants of the Lord, for the word of God sake: what whipping, imprisoning, and cruel torturing of the bodies of the people of God do you make, and have you made? what blooding of them, massacring, slaying, cutting off the ears, dismembering have you made of the servants and people of God? yea Colonel *Rous* his Son, who came amongst you to visit the prisoners, and see what they wanted, being in your cruel tortures; Oh what a noise you send abroad in other Nations! What hunting up and down, and breaking up meetings, and disturbing the meetings of such as fears God, more like mad men then a people of a sober carriage! but as it written, persecution was ever blind, and so acted like hood-wink men, whose fury, malice, and heat, was not asswaged, untill *Hum Norton* you had burned in the hand: which shews you are a people more likely bred at *Rome*, who are so expert with your tortures, whips, scourge, pitch ropes, that you beat and whip and lash the servants of the Lord God withall; untill their bodies become like unto jelly, who are become unmerciful, cruel, hard-hearted, deadly in your persecution, fierce, rigorous in your madness; and now have got up a law to kill, put to death, banish such as say thou to you, and puts not off their hats, and goes under the name of Quakers, whose names in ages to come will stink and be recorded, whose madness, fury, bloodiness, cruelty, will stand upon record for ages, who stain your Nation with the blood of the innocent, and stains themselves with the blood of the servants of God, whose innocent blood lies dropping upon you, which nothing wil quench your rage but the blood of the innocent, and burning, and banishing, and spoiling of their goods, and making havock of them, and putting to death, taking away life; nothing will satise you devourers, it seems, but life; now you will have life, now you set up your law, which you call higher power which all must be subject to, which none must disobey your higher power, that is to kill, to banish, to whip, to burn, to cut off ears; and this is called a higher power set up in *New England*, which who disobeys it

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disobey the higher power; and this is the profession (to whip with pitch ropes) of Magistrates and Christians and their teachers, burn, kill, banish, break up meetings of them that fears God, spoil their goods, fine them, whose cruelty hath stained them with the blood of the Saints, and corrupted the land with innocent blood, which it will be hard for ever to be repaired again, the breach which they have made betwixt themselves and God, which hath thrown away his doctrine and command, which is to love enemies, and entertain strangers: not to burn enemies, not to whip them with pitch ropes, not to cut off their ears, banish them and spoil their goods, not to burn them in their hands, Christ taught not to break up their meetings with armed men, not to spoil and take their goods from them, but to feed enemies, and love enemies; now your love is seen who are men of New England, quite contrary to the love of Christ and the command of Christ, and doctrine of the Apostles, in this entertaining of strangers, and so have shewed your selves to be the bastard Christians, such as have got the name, but are dead from the life and power; was there ever such a nest and company of mad men gathered together, that nothing will satisfy them but the ears, burning in the hand, and prisoning, fining, plundering, straining the goods of people, whipping with pitch ropes; Is this New England's spiritual weapons that they fight withall? have they no better weapons to fight for Christ's kingdom? doth not this manifest to be the weapons of the devil, Satan, the wicked one, and such as fight with flesh, and not with the powers of darkness, for they that do so, must fight with spiritual weapons; are not you become a stink to all the heathens and Indians about you? onely be recorded amongst the unrighteous and bloody persecuters; Oh bloody New England, whom nothing will satisfy but blood and life! Oh banishing New England, spoilers of the goods of people. Oh New England is this thy work, to cut off ears, whip with pitch ropes? hast thou not stained thy glory for ever, mar'd thy profession, and made thy Religion to stink before God and men, and made thy self an abomination to all that seeks God, and made your selves manifest who are brought now to the light, that all your profession hath been but from your own rotten, corrupt, hard hearts, and not from the sincerity of the Lord; how many hath bled among you? how are you besprinkled with the blood of the innocent of the Lord? how have ye mar'd and dismembred the creatures of God? which had you been in his wisdom, you would have loved them and received them, though they had been enemies, and sought to have brought the creature into the liberty of the sons of God; how has your mad, earthly, devilish, sensual wisdom appeared, and the fruits of it declared it self, not to be the wisdom which is from above, which is gentle, meek, and easily to be entreated, and pure, and peaceable; Oh how is many thousands in old England grieved to see that thus you are fallen into the earth, and into the dark power and acted with it, and fled from the sincerity which some of you had formerly. Oh how is your maiden head gone, and you lost from the virgins state, that you are become vain and more brutish then any men. Oh who would have looked for such fruits from New England, who themselves were once under suffering and banishment? Oh who would have looked and expected, that your latter end should have been worse then the beginning, who are gone now with the dog, biting and worying, and vomiting out the filthiness, which some of it we have seen in Old England here. Oh who would have thought and expected that you should have been the sow which was once washed, and are now wallowing in the mire, rents and tears? Oh! who would have expected, or have looked, that you in New England, who was banished for Reli-

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gions sake, should now become as briars and thornes, and a wilderness, and
 weeds, whose heart hath the possession of the earth and not the Lord? Oh! who
 would think that you should be the men that would have trampled thus the do-
 ctine of Christ and the Apostles, and their commands under your feet, and
 have turned such Apostates in your latter age, and have brought forth such fruits,
 and have been so corrupted, and have forgotten the Lord, his mercy, hand, and
 power, before your life ended. Oh miserable! the lamentation is over you
 all. Oh who would have believed that such a thirst would have risen among you,
 that nothing will quench but the blood of the innocent, and the blood of them
 that keep the command of Christ, and walks in the doctrine of the Apostles! was
 there ever the like heard of in the Scripture or New Testament as your selves with
 whom will you paralel your selves? Oh! I am grieved that you or any one up-
 on the earth should profess Scriptures, and bring such a stain upon your selves,
 and such a dishonor upon the truth, and cause the name of Christ and his do-
 ctine, and the Apostles, to be thus blasphemed by the vulgar sort, and set at
 nought through such a wretched company as you; but the hand of the Lord is
 turned against you and gone over you, and his mighty power is stretched over
 you that you cannot hide your selves nor be hid, but the Lord God of power by
 his power will bring all your actions to light, and his power and arme you can-
 not escape; and you had been better a millstone had been hanged about your necks
 then you had offended the little ones; and if they go into everlasting puni-
 shment that are the goats that visit not Christ in prison, what will become of
 you, and whether will ye go, that cut off the ears, and prisons, and burns, and
 banishes, and whips with pitch ropes till you make their bodies like jellies; now
 this is your fruits (who hath had long the sheeps cloathing) which is the mark
 of Goats, the mark of Wolves, the mark of Antichrist, and the false Prophets,
 which are not to be followed, for the power of the Lord God lets see over you,
 and gives victory and dominion; and I believe them that be in the power of
 God, will not fear you tortures, will not fear your pitch ropes, who use to beat
 them till you make their bodies like Jellies, and not fear your cutting of ears, nor
 burning in the hand, and your murdering and putting to death for wearing their
 hats, and saying, *Thou* to a particular person, and trembling at the word of
 God, and working out their salvation with fear and trembling; if such meet
 in our Patents and Jurisdictions, burn them in the hand, cut off their ears, fine
 them, prison them, banish them, whip them with pitch ropes; Is not this New
 Englands Government at the height of their rage, and they with the devil up-
 on the pinnacle doing his work, and call that the higher power, to which people
 must be subject to, with which they act these things to maintain and uphold their
 Church-Ministry, and Christianity which is far below the power of God, and
 the power of God is far above it, which will overthrow that power and the act-
 ors both. G. F.

To the Town of Boston in New England.

*Boston is a withered branch, the sap of the vine is departed from it; your profession is
 become barren and your glory is become withered; ye are departed from the Lord, and have
 followed your own inventions: How is thy beauty faded, thou who was famous among
 the Nations for thy zeal towards God; but now thy zeal is turned in to hypocrisie, and en-
 vy hath eaten you out, and malice is as a Canker among you, and the way of peace you*

know not, but are following that which makes desolate; therefore return while you have time, and let God be minded by you, lest he break forth against you with an irresistible flood, which you cannot be able to escape; be not proud, for thy beauty thou hast lost, and thy glory is stained; but seek after him who is pure, whose worship stands in the spirit; and no longer worship the works of your own hands, lest in the day of your distress your house be left unto you desolate, and your habitation wast, and then you may wish that while you had time, ye had minded the things which belong to your peace, and so cease from your boasting, and search your hearts with the light of Christ, and let hypocrisie dwell no longer in them, lest being double minded you be shut out with hypocrites in our darkness, where shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth; so while you have time prize it, and while you have time repent of your ungodliness and cruelty acted on the Lambs of Christ, lest you following the way you now walk in, do fall into the pit of perdition, out of which there is no redemption: And this is written to thee by one who sees thy withered state, and hath suffered in thee for the testimony of a good conscience, called,

John Rous.

Beside the former mentioned sufferings inflicted on the Quakers and a great number of such as bear the Lord, and worship him in spirit, and therefore with drew from the dead sacrifices of the Churches in New England; the Rulers finding that their former Law and Acts did not effect that which they intended, namely, the shutting out the Quakers from the country, and that they dwelt in it, they proceeded to make another Law, which was of infinite railing, and casting as many odious terms on them that are called Quakers, as they could rake up) That if any of them were found in their jurisdiction they were not inhabitants, they should be banished upon pain of death.

In prosecution of this their Order at their May Court, 1659. they banished one Will. Brend to be gone in 48. hours, and if he was found after that time, he was to be apprehended and cast in prison, and proceeded with according to their Law, which is Death.

And at the same Court for the offence committed against some of the Inhabitants, for which they had from time to time suffered long imprisonments, cruel whippings, and scourgings, and the spoiling of their goods to a great value, the Rulers took hold on six of them, and banished them upon pain of death, two of which were very aged people, who through travels by sea and land for their years, and sufferings, and other inconveniences which came upon them in their banished state, have ended their days, whose death we can do no less then put upon the account of their persecutors, they being the occasion of it. Since which they have imprisoned five more, three men and a woman, whom they cast in prison with her clothes wet, and a child between ten and eleven years of age, who was moved of the Lord to go from her outward being, 105. miles to Boston, where she was cast into prison, and being examined, her answers were so far beyond the ordinary capacity of a child of her years, that the Governor confessed there was a spirit in her beyond the spirit of a woman; but being blind, and not seeing God perfecting her, out of the child's mouth, said, It was the Devil: These five were in prison to be banished on pain of death; their Mitimuses follow, which will further shew the spirits of them that write them; and from what spirits they take advice, whose ways are so contrary to God, and those that follow him.

To the Keeper of the Prison: You are by virtue hereof required to take into your custody the persons of Nich. Davis, Will. Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Patience Scot, [the child aforementioned] Quakers, according to the Law made in Octob. 1658. to be sure to keep them close Prisoners till the next Court of Assistants, whereby they are to be tried according to Law, not suffering any to come as them, or discourse with them, without special Order from this Court and allow them only Prisoners fare, unless it be in times of sickness.

Dated at Boston, June 16. 1659.

By the Court, Edw. Rawson Sec.

To the Keeper of the Prison: You are by virtue hereof required to take into your custody the person of Mary Dyre, who on her examination before Authority, profess her coming into this country was to visit the prisoners, the Quakers now in hold, and that she was of the same Religion Humphrey Norton was of, which was true, and refusing to give a direct answer to what was proposed unto her, or any o-

that occasion; she came thither for affirming the Right (of Christ) which she is the
 Rule) her safety kept in close prison till the next Court of Assistants according to the
 Law cited; Quakers. Dated July 1. 1739. at Boston, By Order, H. Rawson Rec.

This Order of close imprisonment was strictly followed; for when we
 heard from her, she had been kept five weeks in a little room, and had not
 been out upon any occasions. I wish she had been kept in a little room, and had not
 been out upon any occasions.

*A true Copy of a Letter which was sent from one who was a Magis-
 strate in New-England, to a friend of his in London.*

Honoured S I R,

MY Respects presented to you and Mrs. Brown, ho-
 ping and desiring your present and eternal well-
 fare, &c. As for the state and condition of things
 amongst us, it is sad, and like so to continue; the Antichristi-
 an persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers
 of this World; he that will not whip and flog, banish and
 persecute men that differ in matters of Religion, must not
 sit on the Bench, nor sustain any office in Commonwealth;
 Last election Mr. Hatherly and my self left off the Bench,
 and my self discharged of my Captainship, because I had
 entertained some of the Quakers at my House (thereby that
 I might the better be acquainted with their principles; I
 thought better so to do, then with a blind World to cen-
 sure, condemn, rail, and revile them when they never saw
 their persons, nor knew any of their principles. But the
 Quakers and my self cannot close in divers things; and so I
 signified to the Court I was no Quaker, but must bear my tes-
 timony against sundry things that they held, as I had occa-
 sion and opportunity; but withall I told them, That as I was
 no Quaker, so I would be no Persecutor: This spirit did
 work those two years that I was of the Magistracy, during
 which time I was on sundry occasions forced to declare my
 dissent in sundry actings of that nature, which although
 done with all moderation of expression, together with due
 respect unto the rest, yet it wrought great disaffection and
 prejudice in them against me, so that if I should say some of
 themselves set others on work to frame a Petition against
 me,

me, that so they might have a standing ground from others (though first moved and acted by themselves) to lay me what they could under reproach. I should do no wrong, the Petition was with nineteen hands, it will be too long to make rehearsal of; it wroughte such a disturbance in our Town, and in our Military company, that when the Act of Court was read in the Head of the Company, had not been present, and made a speech to them, I fear there had been such actings as would have been of a sad consequence. The court was again followed with another Petition of 34 Hands, that I might be restored to them, or some satisfactory Reasons wherefore I might not. The court returne the Petitioners an answer with much plausibleness of speech, carryng with it great shew of respect to them, readily acknowledging with the Petitioners, my parts and gifts, and how useful I had been in my Place, professing they had nothing at all against me, but onely in that thing of giving entertainment to the Quakers, when as I broke no Law in giving them a nights lodging or two, and some victuals; for our Law then was, *If any entertain a quaker, and keepe him after he is warned by a Magistrate to depart, the party so entertaining shall pay 20. s. a week for entertaining them: Since has been made a Law, If any entertain a quaker, if but a quarter of an hour, he is to forfeit 5. l. Another, That if any see a quaker, he is bound if he lives six miles or more from the Constable, yet he must presently go and give notice to the Constable, or else is subject to the censure of Court, (which may be, Hang him.) Another; That if the Constable know or hear of any quaker in his Precincts, he is presently to apprehend him, and if he will not presently depart the Town, the Constable is to whip them, and so send them away; and divers have been whipt with us in our Patent; and truly to tell you plainly that the whipping of them with such cruelty as some have been whipt, and their patience under it, hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more adherence to them, then if they had suffered them openly to have preached a Sermon: Also another Law, That if there be a Quakers meeting any where in this Collony, the party in whose house, or on whose ground, is to pay 40. s. the Preaching-quaker 40. s. every*

heaver 10.5. Yea, and if they have Meetings, though nothing
 be spoken when they so meet, which they say, so it falls out
 sometimes. Our last Law, That now they are to be appre-
 hended and carryed before a Magistrate, and by him com-
 mitted to be kept close prisoner until he will promise to de-
 part, and never come again, and will also pay his fees, which
 I perceive they will do, neither the one nor other; and they
 must be kept only with the Countreys allowance, which
 is but small, (namely, coarse bread and water) no friend
 may bring them any thing, none may be permitted to speak
 to them; yea, if they have money of their own, they may
 not make use of that to relieve themselves. In the *Masachu-
 sets* (namely *Boston* Collony) after they have whipt them,
 cut their ears, have now at last gone the furthest step they
 can, they banish them upon pain of death if ever they come
 there again; We expect that we must do the like, we must
 dance after their Pipe; Now *Plymouth* Saddle is upon the
 Bay-Horse, (to wit, *Boston*) we shall follow them on the ca-
 reer, for it is well if in some there be not a desire to be their
 apes and imitators in all their proceedings in things of this
 nature; all these carnal and antichristian wayes being not
 of Gods appointment, effect nothing as to the obstructing
 or hindering them in their way or course, it is onely the
 Word and Spirit of the Lord that is able to convince gain-
 sayers; they are the mighty Weapons of a christians War-
 fare, by which great and mighty things are done and ac-
 complished. They have many Meetings, and many adhe-
 rents, almost the whole town of *Sandwich* is adhering to-
 wards them; and give me leave a little to acquaint you with
 their sufferings, which is grievous unto, and sads the hearts
 of most of the precious Saints of God, it lyes down with
 them, and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of
 their minds, to see and hear of poor Families deprived of
 their comforts, and they brought into penury and want,
 (you may say, by what means? and to what end?) as far as
 I am able to judge of the end, it is to force them from their
 homes and lawful habitations, and to drive them out of
 our coasts; *Masachussets* have banished six of their own Inha-
 bitants.

bitants to be gone on pain of death, and I wish that blood be not shed; but our poor people are pillaged, and plundered of their goods, and happily when they have no more to satisfy this unfeeling desire, at last may be forced to fly, and glad they have their lives for a prey: As for the means by which they are so impoverished, these in the first place were scrupulous of an Oath, why then, we must put in force an old Law, that all must take the Oath of fidelity, this being tendered, they will not take it, and then we must add more force to the Law, and that is, if any shall refuse or neglect to take it by such a time, shall pay 5 l. or depart the Colony.

When the time is come they are the same as they were, then goes out the Marshal, and fetches away their Cows, and other Cattle. Well, another Court comes, they are required to take the Oath again, they cannot, then 5 l. more, on this account 35 head of Cattle, as I am credibly informed, has been by the authority of our Court taken from them the latter part of this Summer; and these people say, if they have more right to them than themselves, let them take them, some that had a Cow onely, some two Cows, some three Cows, and many small Children in their Families, to whom in Summer time, a Cow or two was the greatest outward comfort they had for their Subsistence. A poor Weaver that has seven small children, or eight, I know not which; he himself lame in his body, had but two cows, and both taken from him, the Marshall asked him what he would do, he must have his Cows, the man said, that God that gave him them, he doubted not, but would still provide for him To fill up the measure yet more full, though to the further emptying of *Sandwich* men of their outward comforts, the last Court of assistants, the first *Tuesday* of this instant the Court was pleased to determine fines on *Sandwich* men for meetings, sometimes on first dayes of the week, sometimes on other dayes, as they say, they meet ordinarily twice in the week besides the Lords day, 150 l. whereof *William Nutland* is 24 l. for he and his wife, at 10 s. a meeting, *William Allen* 46 l. some affirm it 49 l. the poor Weaver before spoken of 20 l. Brother *Cook* told me, one of the Brethren at

at *Bastable* certified him that he was in the Weavers house when (cruel *Barlow*) *Sandwich* Marshall came to demand the summe, and he said that he was fully enformed of all the poor man had, and thought if all laid together it was not worth 10 l. what will be the end of such courses and practices, the Lord onely knows, I heartily and earnestly pray, that these and such like courses neither raise up amongst us, nor bring in upon us, either the sword or any devouring calamity, as a just avenger of the Lords quarrel for Acts of injustice and oppression, and that we may every one find out the plague of his own heart, and put away the evil of his own doings, & meet the Lord by entreaties of peace, before it be too late, and there be no remedy.

Our Civil Powers are so exercised in things appertaining to the Kingdome of Christ in matters of Religion and Conscience, that we can have no time to effect any thing, that tends to the promotion of the Civil Weal or the prosperity of the place, but now we must have a State Religion, such as the powers of the world will allow (and no other) a State-Minister, and a State way of maintenance, and we must worship and serve the Lord Jesus, as the world shall appoint us, we must all go to the publick place of meeting in the Parish where he dwells, or be presented, I am informed of three or fourscore last Court presented, for not coming to publick meetings, and let me tell you how they brought this about, you may remember a Law once made, called *Thomas Hinkleys Law*, that if any neglected the worship of God in the place where he lives, and set up a worship contrary to God, and the allowance of this Government, to the publick prophanation of Gods holy day, and Ordinance shall pay 10 s. this Law would not reach, what then was aimed at because he must do so and so, that is, all things there expressed, or else break not the Law in *March* last a court of Deputies was called, and some Acts touching Quakers were made; and then they contrived to make this Law to be serviceable to them, and that was by putting out the word (and) and put in the word (or) which is a disjunctive, and makes every branch to become a Law, so now if any do neglect, or will not come to the publick Meetings,

10 s. for every defect, certainly, we either have less wit, or more money then the *Massachusetts*, for, for 5 s. a day a man may stay away till it come to 12. or 13 l. if he had it but to pay them: and these men altering this Law now in *March*, yet left it dated *June* the 6th 1651. and so it stands as the Act of a General court, they to be the Authors of it seven years before it was in being, and so you your self have your part and share in it, if the Recorder lie not, but what may be the reason that they should not by another Law made and dated that court, as well effect what was intended, as by altering a word, (and so the whole sence) of the Law, and leave this their Act by the date of it charged on another courts account; surely the chief instruments in the businesse, being privy to the Act of Parliament for liberty should too openly have acted repugnant to a Law of *England*, but if they can do the thing, and leave it on a court as making it six years before the Act of Parliament, there can be no danger in this, and that they were privy to the Act of Parliament for liberty to be then in being, is evident that the Deputies might be free to act it, they told us that now the Protector stood not engaged to the articles for liberty; for the Parliament had now taken the power into to their own hands, and had given the Protector a new Oath, onely in general to maintain the Protestant Religion, and so produced the oath in a Paper in writing, whereas the Act of Parliament, and the Oath are both in one book in Print, so that they that were privy to the one, could not be ignorant of the other, but still all is well, if we can but keep the people ignorant of their liberties and Priviledges, then we have liberty to act in our own wills what we please, we are wrapped up in a Labyrinth of confused Laws, that the free mens power is quite gone, and it was said last *June* Court by one, that they knew nothing the freemen had there to do; *Sandwich* men may not go to the Bay, least they be taken up for Quakers, *William Nuland* was there about his occasions some ten dayes since, and they put him in prison 24 hours, and sent for divers to witness against him, but they had not proof enough to make him a Quaker, which if he had he should have been whipt, nay they may not

not go about their own occasions in other Towns in our Colony, but warrants lie in ambush to apprehend them, and bring them before a Magistrate to give an account of their businesse. Some of the Quakers from *Road Island* came to bring them goods to trade with them, and that for far reasonabler terms, then the professing, oppressing Merchants of the Country, but that will not be suffered, that unlesse the Lord step in to their help and assistance in some way beyond mans conceiving, their case is sad and to be pitied and truly, it moves bowels of compassion from all sorts except those in place, who carry with a high hand toward them, through mercy we have as yet amongst us worthy Mr. *Dunster*, whom the Lord has made boldly to bear testimony against the Spirit of persecution: Our Bench now is *Thomas Prince*, Governour, Mr. *Collier*, Captain *Willet*, Captain *Winslow*, Mr. *Alden*, Lieutenant *Southworth*, *William Bradford* *Thomas Hinkley* Mr. *Collier* last June would not sit on the Bench if I sat there, and now will not sit the next year, unlesse he may have 30 l. fit by him: our Court and Deputies last June made Captain *Winslow* a Major, surely we are all mercenary Souldiers, that must have a Major imposed on us, Doubtlesse the next Court they may choose us a Governor, and Assistants also, a free man shall need to do nothing, but bear such burdens as shall be laid upon him; Mr. *Alden* has deceived the expectation of many, and indeed lost the affections of such as I judge were his cordiall Christian friends, who is very active in such wayes, as I pray God may not be charged on him, to be oppressions of a high nature.

Written in December 1658.

This Letter was published, not by the direction or knowledge of the Author, who sent it over to his friend for private information, but seeing that upon the perusal it is found to be of publick concernment, which coming into the hands of some, it was thought meet to be published to the view of all.

Even the sea Monsters draw out the breasts, they give suck to their young ones. The Daughter of my people is become cruel like the Ostriches in the wilderness. Lam. 4.3.

T H E E N D.